/586 cont./

262 /untranslated/). If, in a period of great hunger, they would have to eat a fox or an otter (362), they are unreservedly emphatic

362. Fitz-Roy (a):184 says that "the otter is valued, excepting the body part, which they seldom eat unless hard pressed by hunger" /cited in English/.

about the sharp, bad taste of the meat. With the exception of the fat and meat of the whale, the Yamana do not touch putrid or moldy meat (363). Of the latter species, the southern whale,

363. Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains, and Lovisato (b):142 uses almost the same words, that "they eat any thing and every thing that is eatable, without being particular as to its state of freshness, or as to its having been near the fire" /cited in English/. This general statement, however, is misleading.

lémuka (Balaena australis), is most prized because of its tasty meat. On the other hand, the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), is not touched because its fat has a laxative effect. Fitz-Roy (a):185 asserted that "the fins of a dead whale are esteemed" /cited in English/, but the liver of the whale is rejected. The fat of the large grampus, čapjači (Orcinus orca), is thought to be poisonous, and for this reason alone no one touches it.

Our natives are dependent all the year round on mussels and snails, čipala, and they know very well that these animals are not uniformly tasty at every season. From each small pile that they have gathered, they conscientiously reject the pieces that are not as good as others or even bad. They say that the [753] meat of the large Voluta snail, běfjen, in certain areas is harmful for the brain; it makes people dizzy, and they lose their balance in walking. Anyone /587/ who observes these symptoms after eating this snail leaves the unfavorable place and warns others. [752] This type of snail, as well as a few other, smaller ones are always put into the fire first, after which the fleshy foot is torn out.

/720 cont./

862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, ǰlakuš. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from
863 a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
• [153] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

827 I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
833 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

/937 cont./

X881 relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the
625 X[illegible]!" Animated talk by the others.
533 Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westerners [the Halakwulup]." The wineſkeŕa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awáj!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awáj!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a sonorous melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "No." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awáj." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awáj."

X881 Suddenly all the uſwala stood up, arousing all the adults.
●[153] The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "Those Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Nelly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Punta Remolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

X881 Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two
535 short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/1049 cont./

776 He proceeds ruthlessly: he does not desist even in the face of the
761 tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother.
626 He is truly a Tumúkikánaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Ahúlíkin, that hí'im hílu Ahúlíkin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious illness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: 'Watayinéwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!'" (Gusinde [4] :161.)

[153]

[82] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If
776 he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and
626 rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Ahúlíkin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the Kúlaxa: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Watayinéwa sees every lazybones. Watayinéwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

/1073 cont./

(7) hĭla čilla akigamăni Tănuwa asŭnan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskēta; kĕndam hitayalalĭnănude?
my head; how I bear it?

/1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tănuwa hăja cilla akigamanita lēkēskēta
The old one me again hit my head

asŭnan kĕndam hitayalalĭnănude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Watayinēiwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigămata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates kŏndĭm as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asŭnan is evidently synonymous with ŏsunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Watayinēiwa čikăja kēlakanĭa sa-kumăsu.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the uiwĭala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kēlakanĭa is related to kōlenkōna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/1295 cont./

776 Yeſáčel is to protect the person entrusted to him from sickness and physical harm. Beyond that, he also protects the person from all kinds of danger. In view of this, one may regard the Yeſáčel as "guardian spirits" of human beings. If a child falls [153] ill, the parents believe the chief reason is that it has not yet been assigned a Yeſáčel. Immediately a yékamuſ is requested to do this. A person who has a Yeſáčel enjoys good health throughout his life, and that is why "everyone must have his Yeſáčel!" When a human being dies, his Yeſáčel leaves him and thereafter wanders about alone as an orphan, independent of the others. The Yamana have nothing to say about the above and way of life of these Yeſáčel. The yékamuſ, however, add that the orphaned Yeſáčel prefer the so-called "dangerous places." From there they continue to be on good terms with the yékamuſ and are forever helpful to them.

The relationship of every human being to his Yeſáčel, my informants unanimously agreed, is like that of father and son or mother and daughter, in other words, extremely favorable and very intimate. The yékamuſ has an even closer association with his Yefacel. Although the yékamuſ assigns a Yeſáčel to each person, he need not direct him thereafter. I was assured with great earnestness, however, that all Yeſáčel must obey Watauinéjwa and his decrees just as willingly and subserviently as must human beings, for "the Yeſáčel are dependent upon him, just like all yámana [human beings]!" On this occasion someone ventured the statement: "Watauinéjwa also has his Yeſáčel." The other people present very definitely showed by their expressions that they did not agree with this assumption, nor was anyone able to explain who might have assigned such a Yeſáčel to Watauinéjwa. From certain previous statements it is easy to conclude why the complete name of these guardian spirits is Yeſáčel xéola, "little spirit." Many Indians use the word Yapáčel instead.

776 Bridges mentioned these little guardian spirits several times
756 and /1296/ always only in connection with the yékamuſ. It is true that the Yeſáčel means much more to a medicine man than to an ordinary human being, for the spirit performs special services for him in the activities of his calling. In Bridges (a):212 it is said: The Yeſáčel "is a doctor's son and appears to doctors

/1417 cont./
X 756 787 human beings and animals, yeſčel, and Haɣčella as though everything were absolute reality. The people around him to whom he gives more or less explicit reports believe them and regard them as true. For example, if he cries, "I have caught this yékuš, hurled by a hostile yékamuš, with my right hand and and I am placing it on the ground in front of me," this means that the yékamuš performed this act in his vision, whether or not he moved his arms. All the people who hear his words accept them with the same credulity as that shown by a European who listens to his neighbor's report about his dream images. Our Yamana, however, regard everything that happens "in the dream" of their yékamuš as an actual event and believe in its direct effect or in the success proclaimed.

α. Healing the Sick

X 756 • 753 755 The field in which the medicine men are most active and in which their help is demanded by their countrymen is that of healing the sick. In order to evaluate this correctly it must be kept in mind that the yékamuš does not combat actual physical suffering. If an ailment has appeared, it is quite possible that a hostile yékamus, an enemy of the person afflicted, has sent it, and the medicine man recognizes this situation "in the dream" or through a message of his yeſčel. /1418/ If this is truly the case -- the origin of such an ailment might be identified as magical -- then a stronger yékamus must release the afflicted person from it by neutralizing the sorcery of the hostile yékamuš. For example, if a person has stumbled and fallen or has an upset stomach, he applies a tested remedy which he himself knows or which a member of his family advises. Beyond that, however, in order to be on the safe side, he does not fail to go to a friendly yékamuš to be treated by him in his magical way. /Fig. 98 appears here./ An ordinary human being cannot tell whether his ailment derives solely from natural causes or whether a malevolent medicine man has a hand in it. Most ailments, especially those unfavorably affecting mental activity, are intentionally caused by a vengeful yékamuš in order to make the person ill or even to make him die.

/1420 cont./

X756 755 whom he is on familiar terms. He immediately treats the petitioner with what I may call his "magical manage." Thereupon the latter departs in a state of relief. The yékamuł gently rubs the painful spot with the palms of both hands, or he manages the joints, or, in the case of an eye disease, he pases his open hands in circular motions in front of the face several times. After that he rubs both hands together, holds the palms upward, and with a vigorous puff that sounds like a shrill ft, he blows the "evil" far away. He makes the same movements over a person who has inadvertently stepped on a "harmful spot" (p. 1200) or over certain foods in order to render them harmless to eat (p.505).

X756 753 755 The common people, as well as the medicine men, make a very definite and clear distinction between an evil and disease caused by a yékamuł and one that is caused by Watayinéwa. Every yékamuł can make certain of this "in his dream" or by asking his yefkéi, and he notifies the people around him. If a sufferer wretchedly groans ɛ, ɛ, it is obvious that Hayčélla has caused the evil and is crying out from the sick person. If, however, an illness is very violent from the start and develops so rapidly that the victim is soon at death's door, the people recognize this as the work of Watayinéwa. In each case, in order to reassure the people and above all, the sick person, the yékamuł will try his method of healing. He knows just as well as those around him that the malady has been inflicted on the person by Watayinéwa himself as a punishment and that it is areal illness which only he can take away, that the cause is neither a buried yéhuł nor a Hayčéllahípa. Well aware that only Watayinéwa

X756 755 can help, the yékamuł tries his best and at the same time begs in the name of the sick person: "May the-one-up-there give you back your health!" If the medicine man realizes his helplessness in the case of /1421/ a certain disease, he, too, turns directly to that higher power which has caused the serious illness. Indeed, even more. Before the yékamuł begins his treatment in the case of a particularly serious illness, he prays to Watayinéwa and says: "Heal this man! But if you will not let him get well because you are justifiably angry with him, take the illness away from him for my sake! At least be kind to me, for it is very important to me to make this man well. Be good to me and give me enough strength

/1433 cont./

456 776 787 755 the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevolent medicine man is accompanied by his Hagʷéliakipa as he walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child, she will take its kéipif away. Quickly an alert yékamuf must march the kidnapped kéipif from the Hagʷéliakipa and give it back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Finally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have your kéipif back!"

456 776 753 I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Yamana associate the first illness with these spirits. They say: "Before the general upheaval in Yíjoaliga, there was not a single sick person, but afterward one man suddenly felt persistent violent pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men assembled and considered how this illness could have come about. After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and fled to the south where she entered the earth.(360). The men

> 360. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Haucella" (p. 1129); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Haucella and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant, the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

called this dangerous woman Hagʷéliakipa. Then they considered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and they requested the yékamuf to offer their help to all Yamana." This account is a good explanation of the first activity of the medicine men.